/325 cont./

*192
797
774

/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does
[756] it often. According to wh t Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubêwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

764 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse
• 775 his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul,
775 upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal.
825 But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic: 14/

[115]

14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 825 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

756 774 According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

825 *[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papuri an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wɨ̃x-tʃ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

756 775 [782] [276] It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás, rites that the pajés performed while alive.

/326 cont./

• 775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

[115] [764]

16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas.

[161]

Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

/327 cont./

764 not even the children; so that they used to bury it in the maloca itself, where life will continue as usual. Nor do they later practice any ritual of purification (like the Jews) when they touch a cadaver. They do show some fear of the soul (18),

> 18. Brother Mateo of Montfort told that, while navigating with some Indians, he reached a place called S. José (river Papurí), where two days before an old man had been buried. Only the brother remained on this bank during the night; the natives, out of fear, went to sleep on the opposite bank.

although they declare, when questioned, that it cannot return or be invoked by the pajé or any other person.

• 775 [115] A Tukano woman (Dorotéia Brito), questioned about what she thought of wãx-tĩ, answered that "it is the shadow of the person." And the Tukano Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why anyone was afraid of the dead, explained "because he becomes wãx-tĩ" (19).

> 19. When an Indian, having died far from the cemetery, was buried inside a hut, the Indians later came to complain to Pe. Umberto Limpens that they did not want to live there any longer, because "the wãx-tĩ of the man" was wandering all through the house. On January 10, 1949, in Ki-xsêri-yá (igarapé of the mandioca peelings) on the river Tiquié, near the Colombian frontier, an old man known as Chico died by drowning while fishing. Contrary to custom, they buried the cadaver where it was found, in an abandoned spot, a little below the povoado.

/327 cont./

775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ãsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
756 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraordinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

764 The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
775 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

/328 cont./

• 775 The belief in a social life beyond the grave, similar to the present life, with fishing trips and feasts, is still vigorous, as is shown by categorical answers (20).

[797]

20. A little girl interrupted a Religious, who, explaining the Catechism, spoke of heaven, in order to ask whether there were fish there in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Professora answered no. The child added promptly: -- Then I do not want to go there.

Some even think that in the other life there is procreation of children (21).

[797]

21. A Missionary relates the following: "Once a lad was very surprised to hear that in heaven there will be a plenitude of life, without need for propagation of the species. He asked, almost disappointed: 'Then there in heaven will there not be any women for us?' "

5) Existence of the spirits.

776 They believe in the existence of spirits that never were incarnated in a human body and never will be; they can, nevertheless, become visible in certain circumstances. Such spirits live in certain places: in the interior of the forests, headwaters of the igarapés, caves, stones, etc.

There are many of them, and different categories, each category with its characteristic way of presenting itself. The description as the Indians bring it to us, however, is not unanimous. And some affirm that they see them or hear them with relative frequency. It is an unquestionable fact that they become

/356 cont./

*192 776 c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water. • 775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not. 776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ. 756 And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons, 829 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3)). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ. [825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called urukã-tutú, due to the *[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of *[192] a deceased civilized person, pexkã-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a paje,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
• 775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

• [775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of wãx-tĩ?)).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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572 *hiko*'s marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

[775] Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of course, separates *hikū* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the marriage of their children to one another. The *hikū* has the first claim upon his *hiko*'s daughter as a bride for his son.

[574] [431] [584]

[431] Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he believes that his *hikū* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

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Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden.

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away.

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends.

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikū*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikū* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy.

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hivé*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

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10

The Mourning Ceremony

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *ehwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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765 for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented
534 at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never
114 mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted,
769 refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since
[773] Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Umênahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first
786 three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common
[154] purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual
[536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate
765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however,
266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion
• [775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the sub-
[614] stance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual
562 role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual-
[786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the
765 beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as
[776] well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimalwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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532 *Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both
765 grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a
786 variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks
182 at the *óyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women.
[775] By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *óyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *óyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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The first phase of the *áyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

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One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On [535]
the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjiko* is sounded. [534]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *áyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

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That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been re- 535
stored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompoindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
kenadjú marié kenadjú pimári. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [531]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *áyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have 114
been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the 171
funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a 765
great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most 184
horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a 266

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775 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
266 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
114 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

532 MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE*

765 Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons
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1. *Makuko*	(K-G)[a]	A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun.
2. *Kohako*	(K-G)	Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them.
3. *Hailako*	(K-G)	A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand.
4. *Palutxiko*	(K-G)	A giant.
5. *Anauako*	(K-G)	A giant.
6. *Abúhuwa*	(K-G;IG)[b]	Forest demons.
7. *Hokoaboxoko*	(K-G)	Giant tree demons.

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wal-
765 lace, 1870, p. 498).

Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéwa. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enrivant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

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771 769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under 771 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the 769 Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is 787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no importance. 771 Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the 769 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse- 784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit 769 is *dekökü* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the [776] term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The An- [778] cients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi- [775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaibo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form.

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédε* (pulse) and *umέndε* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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775 form. "Since they did not care for people," the Cubeo say, "they cannot live among the souls of people after death." Those who have committed incest or have eaten a forbidden fish called *namùri* have souls after death in the form of the *bauvéko*, a bird that is feared greatly.

The ghost is called *dekókũ* (dream man) or *pwânkũ dekókũ* (dream man person).[3] The distinction between *umé* and *dekókũ* is not precise. That is, when the Cubeo speak of the death of a person they will say that the *umé* leaves and the souls take on human form, and add that the *umé* may return to the house and disturb people. Having begun to speak of *umé*, they follow it into its ghostly phase. On the other hand, it is when the narration begins with the spirits of the dead that they will use the term *dekókũ*.

The Cubeo have no dread of the spirits of the dead. The spirits depart and live their own life under their own headman. Beliefs on the nature of the afterlife are not uniform among the Cubeo, however. The most common view is that the spirits of the dead of the same phratry live together, all in one great phratry house under a headman. Women, however, occupy a vague place in the afterlife, wives staying with their husbands. The women spirits, however, lack their full economic function, since in the afterlife spirits live by hunting and gathering but not by farming. The dead do constitute a nuisance. [824] [789] Shortly after death the ghost returns to the house hoping to entice a sibmate to go with him, but he is easily dispatched by burning capsicum. The grave, in the house, is no hallowed place, and shortly after the earth has been packed in place the children play over it. When people encounter a place on the river where the spirits of the dead can be heard they do not hurry on but pause to listen. The spirits of the dead will never be encountered at high noon, the zenith, so to speak, of the secular part of the day. The spirits of the dead hunt only at night. They eat butterflies, grubs, and all snakes including the founding anaconda. Significantly, they do not drink chicha. The Cubeo do not say why, but it would seem that they have visualized an afterlife that is lacking in the essences of life, that is to say, the ingredients that the Cubeo associate with vital intensity. The spirits of the dead also lack manioc. There is some debate among the Indians as to whether the dead live in a house; they lack ceremonial life and sib autonomy. Literally, then, the Cubeo visualize a shadow existence after death.

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All

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[3] *Dekó* is the stem in the verb "to cause to disappear."

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The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habóhü* of the dead is *Mavítikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Órobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Hehénewa*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kánwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokũ* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókũ*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pudnyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives.

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokübéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekókü* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several

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[775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect
[125] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *talárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcikü* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *língoa geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné noneduaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapibü kowaíye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks.

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body.

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived.

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits.

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma.

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life.

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly unconcerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often 753 convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con- 756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be